

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

177 27 JUNE 1970 4d

SHARES JUMP
£1000 million

Tories to sell arms
to South Africa

Tories will get tough
with the unions

TORY SNOOUTS ARE BACK IN THE TROUGH

by Nigel Harris

UP AND DOWN the country, thousands of contented Tory snouts have returned to guzzling in the trough.

The small businessmen, the local builders and property speculators clustered like flies round the honey of local authority contracts, are toasting Heath in the Conservative Clubs, in the suburban golf and tennis pavilions.

And there is quiet satisfaction in the solemn boardrooms of the giant companies. The brief Stock Exchange boom is the visible lifting of their hearts.

But the problems of British capitalism have not been wished away. The hard driving inflation which is weekly robbing every worker's shopping basket, is also eating into British exports.

The Tories have come to power on the basis of bashing the unions, but bashing the unions won't cure inflation and won't cut the strike rate.

KID GLOVES

In 1951 the Tory government treated the union leadership with kid gloves. The Tories may be happy to use the trade union leadership as a whipping horse for their own middle-class supporters, but they do not want to increase open class warfare, to drive the trade union leadership into the arms of their more dangerous rank and file.

Labour has provided them with a lot of cast-iron precedents for the ruthless treatment of trade unionists, but at least in the short term, the Tories are not likely to copy them. The big employers do not want to snare their own wage negotiat-



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ions with police controls, even if the small employers need the state to bash their workers.

So it is likely that, although the Tory Cabinet will talk big about controlling the unions, in practice the bite will be less than bark.

What they will really pursue as soon as they can is old fashioned Stop - a credit squeeze, deflation, attacks on the social services etc. For the working class, this will mean further curbs on the standard of living and, next winter, higher levels of unemployment.

But it will also hit the small businessmen, at present congratulating themselves on a Tory win. Drying out small business - and letting big business go free - could recruit a new army for Powell.

Powell's evolving programme of home-grown McCarthyism - attacks on the 'enemy at home', the 'wreck-

ers' and the immigrants, and demands for more 'law and order' - is the lever for mobilising Tory discontent against the Tory leadership's complete identity of interests with big business.

And the anxiety spread by the credit squeeze - as well as the cumulative effects of productivity deals and whatever attempts there are at trade union 'reform' - could tempt some backward workers to join Powell's witch-hunt.

So that although the Tory government is likely to begin softly, by next year it should face very severe internal strains as Powell's followers begin to howl for blood and the constituency associations cheer them on. The Wolverhampton virus might then look like the beginning of an epidemic unless the left has some strong counter policies.

IMPACT

The impact of deflation hits different areas differently. The declining regions always suffer more. In Wales and Scotland, local nationalisms get a boost from every downturn in the economy.

If Powell in the Commons links up with Paisley and his backwoodsmen from Northern Ireland, they might also link up with other local nationalisms - including the English - in a common opposition to what Heath really cares about - entry into the European Common Market.

Powell is not a fascist, and couldn't make a popular fascist movement. For that he would have to leave the Commons and the Tory Party.

But if Labour prepares the way for the Tories, Powell prepares the way for the fascists if British capitalism goes into real crisis.

The left needs to understand clearly what the main dangers are in the immediate future, and not be misled by Tory propaganda so that they miss the real attacks on the working class.

The fight in the factories against deflation, productivity deals, against any proposed legislation for the trade unions, has to go hand in hand with a serious political attempt to vaccinate workers against nationalism and racialism: to create real political militants and organisation.



Bernadette Devlin waving the Starry Plough, the revolutionary Irish flag, as she is chaired by supporters after her victory last week.

Bernadette's lesson for Left

BERNADETTE DEVLIN's triumph in Mid-Ulster in the general election serves as a warning to all those in the Labour Party and the trade unions who believe that you can only beat the Tories by watering down your policies until they are virtually the same as the party of big business.

There was not one single whisper of socialism in the Labour Party's election manifesto. The result: the party which had attacked workers' living standards and trade union rights lost the election because the same workers sat on their hands on election day.

In Mid-Ulster, Bernadette Devlin fought on an openly socialist platform. She had no illusions in the parliamentary system. She called for nationalisation of industry and workers' control.

She was viciously attacked by the church, the press, the bosses and the soggy 'friends of the people' in Northern Ireland. She stood firm - and her majority shot up by 1700 votes.

And in Derry, Eamonn McCann notched up nearly 8000 votes in a tough seat fought also by the Unionists and the Nationalist 'Green Tories'. McCann's manifesto was committed to revolutionary socialist politics which spoke of the need to end the grip of British big business on Ireland, north and south.

The lesson for socialists in the Labour Party and particularly for members of the Communist Party, which did disastrously on a milk and water, reformist programme, is that the only way forward for the working-class movement is to unite and fight around a revolutionary socialist programme. This means building a party which seeks to take power away from the tiny capitalist ruling class and replace it with the rule of the workers, planning society in the interests of the people, not profit.

Get ready for action

BERNADETTE DEVLIN faces jail for her part in defending Derry last year against the fascist hooligans of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the B-Specials. If her appeal to the House of Lords is rejected this week and she is sentenced to six months' imprisonment, demonstrations and protests should be organised immediately in every major area.

Fight the Tories with Socialist Worker

Why it was right to say: 'Vote Labour'

LETTERS

PETER SEDGWICK'S arguments against voting Labour (20 June) avoid the central reason why the International Socialists advocated voting Labour at the election. But first what about the arguments that Sedgwick uses?

Sedgwick says that a Tory defeat would not be a blow to 'the self-confidence of the ruling class' or 'divide and demoralise the establishment' because 'big business has not been in the least worried by the chances of a Labour victory'. If this is so why have firms like GKN, Powell Duffryn, Sunley Investment Trusts etc. donated large sums to the Tory coffers?

It may be that the Labour Party in power no longer makes big business quake in its shoes (if it ever did), but nevertheless it is NOT their party.

Sedgwick in no way denies that 'a Tory victory would give Labour leaders a new lease of life', but merely says that this argument 'commits us to permanent support for Labour'.

This rubbish is embellished thus: "Even if they (ie 'revolutionary forces') could attract a quarter of the working class we should still have to argue 'Vote Labour to Keep the Tories Out'". If revolutionary forces had the support of a quarter of the working class we would not be arguing about whether to vote Labour or not but about the easiest way to take state power!

But the central reason for voting Labour is to put them in power so as to give the revolutionary forces a chance to expose Wilson and his chums as being, in the long run, anti-working class. If we are to transform the reformist ideas of the working class then we must give workers the chance of seeing reformism in action.

We must allow ourselves the opportunity of pointing out to workers that the reformist rhetoric of the early Labour leaders leads inevitably to the miserable (but dangerous) submission of Wilson to British capitalism. - L S MCGINTY, Sheffield 7.

TRANSPORT UNION NOT ALTERNATIVE TO GMWU

FRED LINDOP (6 June) says that my letter on the Pilkington strike contained some serious mistakes. Unfortunately, he doesn't specify what these mistakes are and proceeds to demolish a case I never made.

He has not disproved my point that there is no fundamental difference between the TGWU and the GMWU and that the TGWU cannot be considered a satisfactory alternative for workers fed up with the General and Municipal.

To offer an alternative bureaucracy - ill-conceived and undemocratic - cannot be considered to be

facing the problem posed as a result of the Pilkington strike, but rather running away from the issues arising.

Fred says we should demand that Jack Jones take his left stance seriously, but forgets that Jones is there for life, buttressed by the tightly-organised bureaucracy around him.

In the same issue of the paper as Fred's letter, is an article that makes plain the real nature of the TGWU - Jack Jones and co notwithstanding - whereby the union officials in the Smethwick foundries of Birmid Qualcast agreed with management a new formula to smash shop floor organisation and cast a smear on immigrant workers.

You quote a TGWU shop steward of the company as saying that he and many others were absolutely opposed to the document and that 'if our trade union leaders agree to them and betray us, then we shall fight them and their bloody agreement'.

No doubt Fred will urge them to join the GMWU!

I don't know about not being taken seriously by trade unionists if we advocate industrial unionism, but in some 25 years of industrial work and speaking to trade unionists I have mostly found a sympathetic response to the sort of suggestions I put forward in my letter. - NIGEL WALBY, Cardiff.

Socialist Worker likes to hear from its readers.

If you have a point of view, share it with the rest of our readers.

Letters - not more than 250 words and typed or written on one side of the paper only - must arrive first post Monday.

Czech students under attack

SINCE you published our appeal to socialists to pay careful attention to the repression which is developing in Czechoslovakia, we have received additional information about one case which has not attracted attention in the press.

It concerns Lubomir Holecek, a leading member of the Students' Union before it fell under governmental interdiction.

We understand that Mr Holecek and some of his associates have been expelled from the university.

Holecek is widely known outside Czechoslovakia because he made a telling intervention at the Stockholm Conference in solidarity with Czechoslovakia organised by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in February 1969.

There is no question that Holecek is a socialist of firm convictions who has consistently opposed the bureaucratic restorations which have been under way in Czechoslovakia.

We think it would be appropriate for socialists to protest to the Czechoslovak Embassy in London, and we hope very much that student socialists will take up a strong position in support for their Czechoslovak colleagues. - Ken Coates, Chris Farley, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Nottingham.



TOM TAYLOR started work as a Clerk in the Co-op in Glasgow at the age of 14. Just last week Tom, now known as Lord Taylor of Gryfe, announced that he was giving up his job as chairman of the Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society 'to pursue other opportunities in government and in commerce'.

He is already a director of Scottish Television, British Rail and the Forestry Commission.

His achievements would not have impressed Robert Owen, the man who takes the credit for inspiring and founding the Co-operative movement which was to take a humble clerk like Tom and turn him into a noble lord.

Owen gave up business opportunities in order to build his model factories for working people.

For Owen believed that society could be rebuilt, free of conflict and the miserable individualism that made the capitalist arrangement of society 'the most anti-social, impolitic and irrational that can be devised'.

Until the end of his days he stuck to the idea that there was nothing fixed and unchangeable about people's conditions of life. These could all be transformed, if people would rise above narrow, selfish preoccupations, and let the sweet power of reason reign unchecked.

by LAURIE FLYNN

and society directed them.' His brother William fixed him a job in London when he had served his time. But young Robert, then 17, found that the enormously long hours he was forced to work robbed him of his sleep and any leisure.

A job was found for him in Manchester, the textile capital. Here he had his own lodgings, time to read and to discuss with whoever he might fancy.

The Scottish inventor Robert Fulton, who was busy working on a hare-brained scheme for a steam-powered ship, was his room-mate. Owen lent him money so that he would not starve.

In return, Fulton taught him the application of steam to the cotton industry. With a mechanic, Owen went into a joint venture with a £100 capital using the steam method. His partner did the dirty on him, so Owen applied for and gained a position as the manager of a cotton factory with 500 workers, men, women and children.

Soon his salary was raised to the fabulous sum of £400 a year. He was marked down to marry the boss's daughter and become a partner. He left to become managing director of a new factory built by the Chorlton Twist Company.

In 1800 he bought out David Dale's Lanark Mills and married his daughter that same year. Here Robert Owen had the chance of putting his schemes into practice, to try to demonstrate that ceaseless misery was not a 'natural' condition of life.

For the next 13 years he never paused in his propaganda for the new way and the new world. He believed that man was the product of his environment. He was a thorough materialist.

HERALDED

Owen set out to prove that in practice profit could be made without employing children to sweat and slave in his factories. He was taken up, heralded as a genius and a saint for his treatment of his employees. Royalty called on him.

While his competitors worked their people 13 and 14 hours a day, Owen's New Lanark Mills worked only 10½ hours per day. When a crisis in the cotton industry stopped work for four months, his workers were on full pay throughout.

Owen became the most popular man in Europe. His mills were visited by 2000 dignitaries every year, on one occasion by the Russian Tsar. He was befriended by the Duke of Kent and sundry other notables.

Like others before and since he was taken up by the establishment. This in itself has quietened many a man. Owen was not silenced.

Robert Owen was born in May 1771, the son of a saddler in Newtown, Montgomeryshire. His father was also postmaster and clerk to the council.

At the age of nine Robert left the school a hungry reader and became a barrow boy on a clothing stall in the market.

At the age of 10 he went to London to work with his brother and later moved to Stamford where he went into the haberdashery trade.

Here he considered the whole question of religion and decided that man was responsible neither to God nor his fellows. He was entirely 'the child of nature and society'. . . nature gave the qualities

PIONEER

He insisted on looking at life as a system. In this he was the major pioneer in British thought. He directed attention away from 'politics', focussing on the way men produced their lives as the key question.

This was a tremendous advance along the road towards the real, living revolutionary theory developed by Marx and Engels.

Owen trusted solely in the power of reason. No matter how often he failed, another scheme would surface. Class warfare and conflict were what he sought to remove.

After 1813 he argued tirelessly for his ideas. Sidmouth, the Home

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CAPITALISM has nothing to offer mankind but exploitation, crises and war. The ruling classes of the world - a tiny minority - subordinate the needs of the vast majority to the blind accumulation of capital in the interests of competitive survival.

Imperialism condemns two-thirds of mankind to famine and calls forth movements of national liberation which shake the system and expose its essential barbarism. The constant and mounting preparations for war and the development of weapons of mass destruction place the survival of humanity itself in the balance.

The increasing intensity of international competition between ever-larger units drives the ruling classes to new attacks on workers' living standards and conditions of work, to anti-trade union and anti-strike laws. All of these show capitalism in deepening crises from which it can only hope to escape at the cost of the working class and by the destruction of all its independent organisations.

The only alternative is workers' power - the democratic collective control of the working class over industry and society through a state of workers' councils and workers' control of

WHERE WE STAND

production. Only thus can the transition be ensured to a communist society in which the unprecedented productive forces thrown up by capitalism can be used to assure an economy of abundance. Only the working class, itself the product of capitalism, has the ability to transform society in this way, and has shown its ability to do so in a series of revolutionary struggles unprecedented in the history of all previous exploited classes.

The working class gains the experience necessary to revolutionise society by constant

struggle against the ruling class through the mass organisations thrown up in the course of that struggle.

To overcome the unevenness with which this experience is gained, to draw and preserve the lessons of past struggles and transmit them for the future, to fight against the pressure of bourgeois ideas in the working class, and to bond the fragmentary struggles against capitalism into a conscious and coherent offensive, a revolutionary Marxist party of socialist militants is required, embracing the vanguard of the working class.

The struggle to build such a party is only part of the wider struggle to create a World Revolutionary Socialist International, independent of all oppressors and exploiters of the working class, whether bureaucratic or bourgeois. International Socialists therefore fight for:

Opposition to all ruling-class policies and organisations. Workers' control over production and a workers' state.

Opposition to imperialism and support for all movements of national liberation.

Uncompromising opposition to all forms of racialism and to all migration controls.

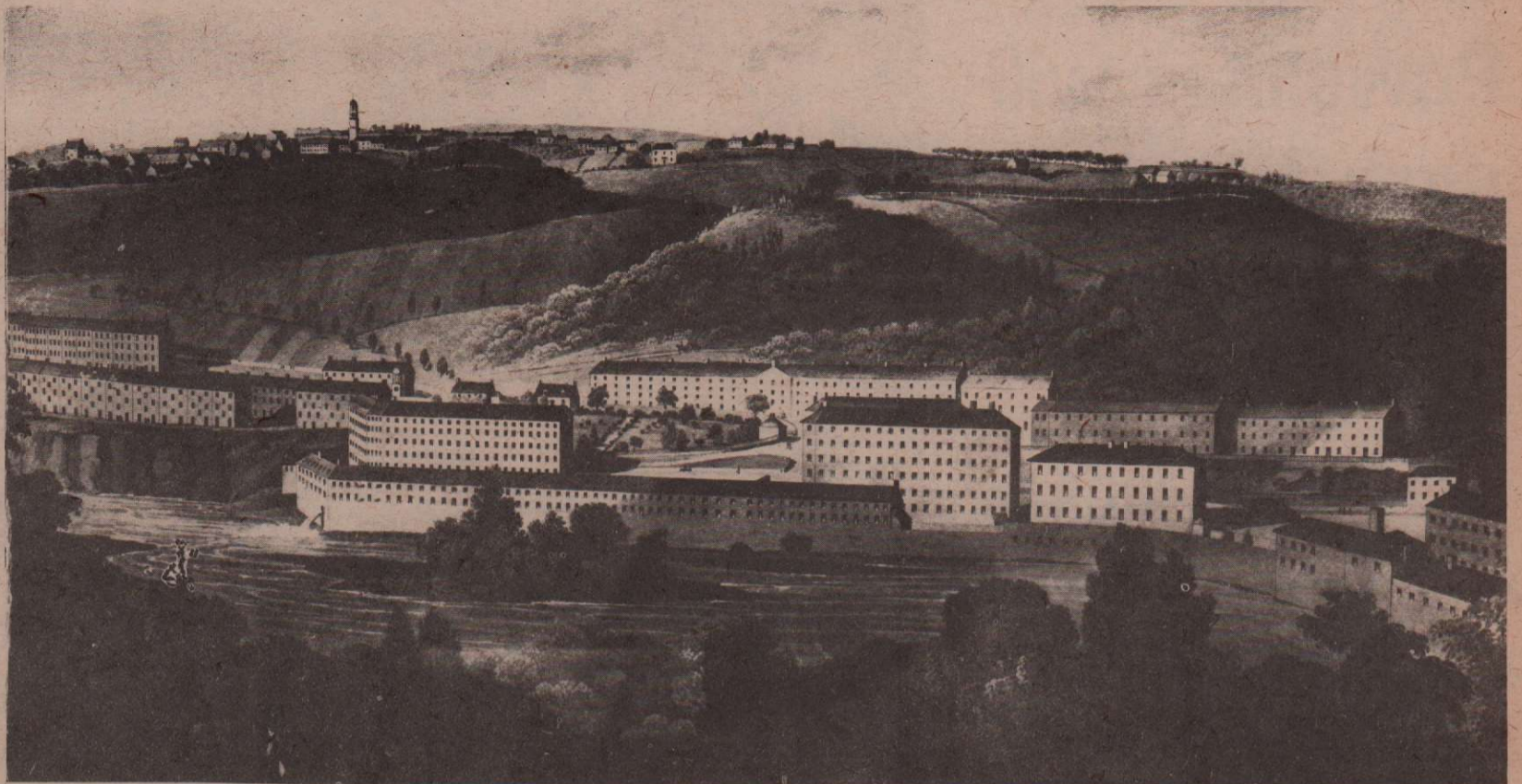
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ROBERT OWEN

—his dream of a better society was a vital

step forward for the labour movement

New Lanark in 1825 — the 'model' mills built by Owen



Secretary, who was to pass the Gag Acts banning trade unions, meetings and any democratic activities whatsoever in a period of tense counter-revolution, bought 200 copies of Owen's book *A New View of Society*.

Owen flung himself into the struggle for factory reform and unemployment relief. He drafted a Bill for the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, the founder of the police force.

It was designed to restrict the working day to 10½ hours for those under 18, to stop those less than 10 years from being employed, to forbid night work and to enforce the regulations by factory inspection.

These proposals caused a storm and were harried by the powerful manufacturers' lobby. Spies were sent to Lanark to wheedle information that might damage Owen. His sanity was publicly questioned, the first of several times.

DEBASED

He gave up in disgust at the depravity of 'these capitalists' and went away to compose *Observations on the Effects of the Manufacturing System*, published in 1815. Here he attacked competition for debasing all human relationships.

All the time New Lanark was thriving. Between 1799 and 1813, the value of the mills increased from the £60,000 he had paid for them to £114,000.

Profits of £160,000 were produced in the period 1809 to 1813. £15,000 in 1820-21 alone and this despite all the schooling for children and shorter days for the workers.

Owen was frightened at this accumulation of capital. The more gigantic grew the surplus, the more impoverished were those that produced it — the workers.

This held even for his own mills, for Owen grasped that his own undertaking in no way stood outside the system. He commented that no matter that his employees were immeasurably better off than those elsewhere, still he was their master and they his slaves.

But he relentlessly opposed any self-activity in the working-class movement. Of the London radicals who denounced his 'villages of co-operation' schemes for unemployed relief, he wrote the following:

'I view them with the same feelings with which I should have noticed so many individuals in a very ill-managed lunatic asylum'.

Owen submitted his schemes for poor relief to the Parliamentary Committee which was then considering reforming the Poor Laws. Plain relief was getting too expensive for men of substance and property.

They refused even to consider his memorandum.

Owen was deeply offended. He published his plans and sent them to countless men of high position.

He wrote: 'If legislative measures shall not be judiciously devised to... ameliorate the condition of the employed class... sooner or later the country will be plunged into a formidable and perhaps inextricable state of danger.'

Convinced that religion blinded the masters, he spoke out against religion, denouncing it as a blinker. All his friends abandoned him.

The Times, which had previously supported him, branded him as a subversive. Polite society cast him out, a leper.

In 1823 he went to America to establish a co-operative colony, New Harmony in Indiana. He returned to Britain in 1827 and severed his connection with the vastly profitable New Lanark.

He returned again in 1829 to find his theories at the head of a revitalised working-class movement. All its leading members were infected with the ideas of co-operation. They seized his assurances that labour alone was productive and gave it a new and far more meaningful content.

Just at this time in the working-class movement there was blockage at the level of ideas. The intense counter-revolution that had covered the country as a result of the French revolution and its domestic versions had driven radicalism into religious despair and spiritualism. Slowly but surely, agitation for reform and workers' combination edged this out.

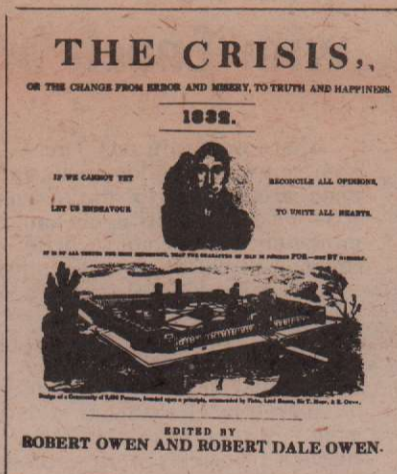
Now there was a new mood. In 1825 the Bradford woolcombers' strike received support from all over the country. It was class against class in this struggle.

The failure of the 1829 spinners' strike showed that no individual trade could stand against the masters. People tried to combine all trades.

The growing popularity of Owenite ideas indicated a new possibility — general unionism. Robert Owen — to his bemusement — found himself at the head of the first, short-lived attempt to build such an organisation, the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union.

All over the country co-operation flowered in different ways. This was not concerned with sharing the surplus 'dividend' but experimenting with an alternative system of production. These attempts are among the most valuable and energising experiences the British working class ever went through.

Owen started a Labour Exchange in London, where bootmakers, for example, could bring their products and receive a token expressing their value in man hours. These could then be exchanged for other articles whose values were also



Cover of Owen's book written in 1832

expressed in terms of the labour that went into producing them. After all labour was the sole source of value.

In a strange, romantic way, the whole system was being challenged and Owen played a vital, creative part. This is the essence of 'utopian socialism' which seeks to change society by appealing to everyone's better nature, including the employing class.

While being unscientific, unsound, parts of it are ripped out and reconstructed in the struggle of the masses to shape their lives.

Utopian socialism contains all sorts of wonderful, life-giving ideas about abolishing the family, poverty, hunger and exploitation, though it has no refined cutting edge.

ENRICHED

But what the movement did with these ideas is far more important than the chapter and verse of Owen's writings and schemes. The democratic movement, enriched by a vision of a new social system, developed into Chartism, the struggle for the vote and wider democracy.

Owen was always hostile to this. He stated publicly that it was leading to 'a pandemonium state of society'. To class conflict he remained unutterably opposed and he moved away from the mass movement.

Owen travelled again, visiting his beloved children in New Harmony in America. Back again in 1847, he dabbled with a community set-up in Hampshire. His system was declining into spiritualism and elitism, the belief that the best minds of society alone could change it.

In 1856 he called the Congress of

the Advanced Minds of the Industrious Classes. The Congress was composed of addresses by Robert Owen to every section of the international population in turn.

By 1858, he was dead, optimistic to the last and with no sense of failure.

He left the working-class movement a substantial legacy. He was the first to take factories as a system and to look forward.

Certainly the lack of precision, the wooliness of Owenite ideas made them extraordinarily resilient and difficult to overthrow in the movement.

But their immense creative power cannot be doubted. All this Marx and Engels took over into their own system. Along with economics and philosophy, it became one of the

three cornerstones of their view of the world.

Owen was the man who insisted that children under the age of 10 should not go to work. He would not have them in his model mill.

A parliamentary commission on child labour voiced its concern that children who did not have a regular occupation would acquire vicious habits. Owen did much to expose this frightful contempt for humanity.

Robert Owen, though severely limited in his vision, helped to lay down some of the first hesitant steps towards the building of a new day.

There are better, far better, ideas which indicate the road to socialism. But these were developed by reading and criticising Owen and by putting his ideas into practice.

BOOKS ON OWEN AND 'OWENISM'

ROBERT OWEN:
A New View of Society 7s

A.L. MORTON: Life and ideas of Robert Owen 12s 6d

MORTON and TATE:
The British Labour Movement
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Who wears the knuckle-duster?

Trade problems and the Powellites will push Heath further to the right

by MICHAEL KIDRON

THE TORIES' biggest immediate problem is inflation. This year prices have been rising at an annual rate of 8 per cent. If they go on like that, three things could easily happen, each of them a threat for the new government.

First, their fixed-income support will wilt and wander as salaries and pensions lose their stretch.

Second, the Tories' internal cohesion, already battered by the Powellite upsurge, will weaken even more. For every time workers win a price-beating wage rise, Powell's frustrated lower middle-class supporters will want blood - Heath's blood and that of the business-county coalition that backs him.

Third, every rise in prices will lose markets abroad, suck in imports, wash away gold and foreign currency reserves, encourage speculation against the Pound and eventually force another squeeze-cum-devaluation.

With only a narrow majority this is not a pleasant prospect for Heath. Somehow he must get a grip of prices. Yet that is one of the most difficult things to do.

For one thing, skilled workers are still in short supply and can, if they are organised and know what they are about, drive a hard wage bargain. Other workers can usually manage to keep in line with the pacemakers.

And since skills are becoming

more and more complex, wage drive will go on to beat prices no matter how many unskilled unemployed queue up outside the gates.

HUGE

Business is also getting insensitive to what happens outside. The companies that matter are so huge they can usually pass on most higher costs - including higher wages - as higher prices to their domestic customers. And these companies are getting bigger every day in order to match their competitors abroad.

What can Heath do? The system he runs is becoming too congealed and rigid, too insensitive to government economic guidance, to respond to little touches of deflation and restraint.

Of course he will try them - he can't afford to pass up anything that might have the slightest influence. But his main thrust must be along the route pioneered by the Labour government - direct wage controls through incomes policies, productivity dealing and labour legislation.

We can expect all these again soon. And we can expect them to

be applied with greater urgency. For two things have happened since Labour tried them:

International trade is moving into a relatively low-pressure phase. As it is, British capital could do no better last year when there was an increase of 16 per cent in world trade than keep the volume of exports steady.

HURT

The inevitable fall-back from that astonishing 16 per cent jump is bound to hurt and trigger off an export-or-die campaign even more frenzied and more

anti-worker than Labour's.

The second thing that has happened is the ugly change in the Tory mood. Powell introduced the knuckle-duster into post-war Tory politics.

It has drawn black blood, and it has also hit Tory unity under Heath. To fight off Powell or even incorporate him, Heath will need both to unite the party around a larger interest and to adopt an extremism of his own.

Economic need, party expediency and personal survival all point in one direction - Heath must pull on the knucks himself and try them on the workers.



Enter Heath...with Enoch breathing down his neck

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Private profiteers are milking the coal mines

by Jack Strawbridge NUM

FOR THE last few weeks, we've lost all our overtime at the National Coal Board workshops, at Carcroft, near Doncaster. Our wages are down to the basic £18 1s 6d a week.

I'm a widower and to be quite honest I can get by. But most of the lads are family men and need the extra to make ends meet.

What makes us furious is why the overtime was cut. They cut it out because there was no work at the workshops.

But why is there no work? We know why, because the NCB has been farming the work out to firms like Mining Supplies Ltd.

Our expense

And in the last month, two firms who do nothing else but workshop work have been advertising for men. At first there was only Mining Supplies, but in the last year a number of others

have sprung up.

Now Mining Supplies pay 10s 6d an hour, plus bonus and make a profit. We want to know why the NCB is being milked by private firms and at our expense.

Recently, after militants talked about exposing the situation, the overtime has come back, but for how long?

Since we have had no joy from the National Union of Mineworkers in this situation we should:

1. Build a campaign in the NUM to get the union to fight against the farming out of mine work.
2. In the current pay talks we should demand a pay rise to

compensate for the loss of overtime. (If the NCB wants to farm out the work, it's not going to do it at our expense.)

This affair shows the limited nature of Labour Party nationalisation. Just as under private ownership, all power is at the top.

The workers in the industry should control it. We'd soon put an end to the milking of the industry.

COMING SOON
THE PILKINGTON STRIKE

-an important Socialist Worker pamphlet

ELECTION POST MORTEM

Communists: down the British Road to lost deposits



Gollan: his strategy has failed. Now his right wing may join Labour

THE PROOF of the pudding is in the eating. The 'British Road to Socialism' is a cul-de-sac.

The pathetic showing of Communist Party candidates in the general election is the last nail in the coffin of party secretary John Gollan's strategy of trying to build an independent left reformist party.

Every single Communist Party candidate lost his or her deposit. Only two — Fred Westacott in Mansfield and Sid French in Mitcham — increased their vote over the already tiny 1966 figure.

All the rest lost ground. In Willie Gallacher's old seat of West Fife the party could pull out only 855 voters — just over half the 1966 result.

In the former Communist stronghold of East Rhondda, the vote slumped from 2349 in 1966 to 659.

Protest vote

Yet if ever 'British Roadism' — the party 'theory' that revolution is unnecessary and socialism can be voted in through parliament — had a chance, it was in 1970. Six years of right-wing Labour rule, the collapse of the Labour Party 'left', the general expectation of another Wilson victory — all this might have been expected to draw a left-wing protest vote to the party.

The opposite happened. The party lost votes to Labour.

The reason is clear enough. 'People before Profits', the party manifesto, was a more radical programme than 'trust good old Harold'.

But it was a programme of essentially the same kind. Since both parties are totally committed to parliamentary reformism, leftish workers with reformist ideas naturally preferred a big party with a good chance of winning to a mini-party which may have had better slogans but which obviously was not going to form a government.

From a reformist point of view,

they were quite right. If the problem of the working class can be solved by parliamentary legislation then the Labour Party is clearly the only party that counts.

As Socialist Worker has said repeatedly, there is no room for a second reformist party in British politics.

What next? The logical outcome of the Gollan leadership's policies would be to dissolve the party into the Labour Party. Entry into the Labour Party, not to fight the spineless Tribune 'left' but to join them — that is going to happen to the right wing of the party in any event.

The electoral defeat and the verbal 'militancy' which the 'left' MPs will now be able to indulge in will pull more and more of those

Counting the cost

'Acceptance of the Communist proposal for equal access to TV and radio time would strengthen the democratic basis of the electoral system. So would its proposals for abolition of the £150 deposit, so that money would be less of a bar to putting up candidates.' - MORNING STAR editorial, 23 June.

who genuinely believe in reformism out of the Communist Party and into their natural home.

The party itself will continue to decline.

It will not dissolve itself — not

yet anyway. There are too many vested interests — jobs, perks and prestige — at stake.

The leadership has no real perspective and no real hope, either. All that Bert Ramelson, the industrial organiser, writing in the Morning Star last Saturday, could offer is more of the same old bromides.

'Disappointing'

He admits that 'the Communist vote was disappointing, even when we take into account the undemocratic electoral system heavily weighted against minority parties'.

Jeremy Thorpe said exactly the same thing for the Liberals! What on earth do so-called 'marxists'

expect? 'Fairness' from the capitalist state?

For militants in and around the Communist Party, the 1970 election should be another clear demonstration of the bankruptcy of the party. It can now go only one way — downhill.

COTTONS COLUMN WILL BE BACK NEXT WEEK

'Red liberals' must liberate themselves

by **TERRY LACEY**

ex-Chairman Union of Liberal Students

THE STRONG BAND of Liberals in the House of Commons is now a sextet. The radical liberals are threatened not with eviction but with being made homeless through demolition.

The radicals expected a lot from the Liberal Party. It was supposed to become the refuge for the radical principles that were ditched by Labour after the sell-outs on immigration, Vietnam, Rhodesia and trade union rights.

This was to expect too much. The Liberal Party is still dominated by a small clique and is linked with big business.

The Liberal Party's massive overdraft was not paid off by old ladies saving their pennies. The party was bailed out financially by a small number of big donations.

Lord Byers, veteran Liberal election organiser and spokesman is also a director of the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation, which has interests in Rhodesia. Then there is Tim Beaumont the Liberal Party's resident capitalist cleric — a rich vicar



BEAUMONT: God's on his side

Stony ground

And there were all the 'Guess Who Came to Dinner' press reports alleging that the Liberal Party desired recognition for its pro-Israel stand. All this provides rather stony ground for the radical liberals.

In any case the expression 'radical liberalism' means very little. Radical means exactly what you want it to — reform — revolution — getting to the root of things — or absolutely nothing.

Liberalism also has a wide range of meaning that stems from the history of liberal ideas. Classical liberalism was a philosophy of economics.

It meant free trade and imperialism abroad and 'laissez faire' and industrial slavery at home. This philosophy still persists among some Liberals but is more commonly found among Tories.

Enoch Powell is a good example of a classical liberal except that he has become screwed up on the free movement of labour.

Meanwhile the mainstream of

liberalism. Since the 1890s they have believed in planning and the welfare state.

Liberal policy is to run capitalism competently and with a human face. Therefore all the socially conscious aspects of liberalism are derived from or similar to Fabian socialism.

Fabian socialism and positive liberalism are philosophies for the perpetuation of capitalism, even though in a changed form from the earlier laissez-faire version. Their common denominators are that neither of them provide a real challenge to the prevailing economic system because they have no alternative to offer.

Both reject the most important component of socialism, which is class consciousness and the need for class struggle.

Petty committees

The basic inconsistency of the radical liberals is that they favour a class struggle internationally but not at home. They support the masses of the Third World against the nasty international capitalists but in Britain their attention turns to creating participation and involve-

In so doing their energies are diverted away from the centres of economic power which dominate our society and turned towards peripheral questions.

The recent Young Liberal Manifesto did exactly this, because although it was filled with slogans about participation and workers' power it was not anti-capitalist and it did not seek to change the basic economic structure which creates all our social and political relationships.

Most of the Young Liberals will remain ambiguous in their ideas and revolutionary in their actions. On paper they have already liberated half the world.

Sinister rumours

But first they should turn their attention, if they really want fundamental economic and social change, (that is, the ending of capitalism and the building of socialism) to liberating themselves from a capitalist party.

Those who felt that the 'Liberal Red Guards' were too left wing should note the latest crop of sinister rumours concerning the Liberal Party.

Evidently there are bigger connections with Marks and Spencers than with Marx and Engels.

NEXT ISSUE: an important article by a doctor on the state of the Health Service and the current salary dispute

Join the International Socialists

There are branches in the following areas

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Aberdeen; Clydebank; Dundee; Edinburgh; Glasgow; East Kilbride.

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NORTH

Barnsley; Bradford; Derby; Doncaster; Hull; Leeds; York; Selby; Sheffield.

NORTH WEST

Lancaster; Manchester; Merseyside; Preston; St Helens; Stockport; Wigan.

MIDLANDS

Birmingham; Coventry; Northampton; Leicester; Oxford; Potteries.

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Bath; Bristol; Cardiff; Exeter; Swansea

SOUTH

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Please send further details of the meetings and activities of the International Socialists to:

Name _____

Address _____

Send to IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2

Socialist Worker

IS launches £5000 fund appeal

Statement by the National Committee of the International Socialists

WITH THE TORIES back in power, it is clear that we face a new period of intensified political and industrial struggle.

The capitalist system is beset by problems on every side. In desperation, sections of the establishment are looking to Powell and the extreme right to save their bacon.

It is vital in the months ahead that the voice of revolutionary socialism is heard in the working-class movement: in the factories and in the trade union branches, on the housing estates, among immigrant workers and in campaigns against racialism and war.

The International Socialists believe that the time is overdue for the building of a mass working-class socialist alternative to both

the Tories and Labour.

An essential part of building this alternative is the expansion of our paper. We have been heartened at the increased influence of Socialist Worker. But we are not satisfied. In the coming months we intend to build the circulation as a first step to bigger things.

As part of this drive we are aiming in the coming months to go over to a permanent eight page paper.

This costs money. Money for extra machinery and printing staff.

We have decided, therefore, to launch a 'Socialist Worker Expansion Fund Appeal' to all our readers. The first stage of this appeal is for £5000.

We know that IS branches up and down the country are planning fund-raising activity. Each branch will be sent an individual fund target.

Help this work

But we think it vital that our many thousands of readers who are not IS members, but who are active in the trade union and socialist movement, should also be able to help this work. We are asking our readers to contribute to this fund. We are preparing appeals for trade union branches and other organisations which can be obtained from our offices.

This is the most concrete way in which we can hit back at those who plan further attacks on our movement. Please start your plans for fund raising now.

Every penny and every pound will be well spent in making sure that the socialist movement has an effective, non-sectarian, fighting journal devoted to the interests of working people and the cause of workers' power - here and throughout the world.

Devon strikers seek aid on blacking SW Reporter

OTTERY ST MARY, Devon: - Strikers at Otter Mill Switchgear have been on strike for two months for a £24 a week wage and a 100 per cent trade union factory.

In spite of endless scare tactics by the management, false reporting in the press and arrests and harassment by the police, the courageous 300 men and women remain united and militant.

Last Friday they staged a march and picket in Honiton, where the election victory of local Tory Peter Emery was announced. The strikers carried slogans such as: 'The air is lovely but can you eat it?' and 'Come west, young man, and be exploited'.

Several productivity deals have been signed in the South West recently. They are easy sell-outs for union officials who either do not understand the dangers of such deals or do not care.

The men at Ottery want no strings attached to their victory. The workers at nearby Centrax did it and so can they.

The Ottery strike has been officially recognised by the three main unions involved - General and Municipal, Metal Mechanics and Electricians. The most important area to be tightened up now is the blacking of Otter Mill parts.

The men and women at Ottery are urging all fellow trade unionists to support their blacking campaign and to send them financial aid.

Donations to: P Coward, 83 Slade Close, Ottery St Mary, Nr Exeter, Devon.

Victory for Rootes' car men

LINWOOD: - Rootes' striking workers in the Vehicle Builders' and Engineering unions went back to work on Tuesday. The week-long strike brought a victory for principle.

In future, 25 per cent of all job vacancies arising through expansion of the labour force will be offered first to the existing work force on the basis of seniority - length of service and age. And in addition some 20 jobs a month that arise through 'natural wastage' will also go by seniority.

This victory greatly increases the chances for long-serving line workers to get more secure and less physically tiring jobs in off-track areas. It shows what can be achieved if union unity prevails even for a brief period.

DOCKERS READY FOR FIRST CLASH WITH TORIES

by HAROLD YOUD
TGWU, Manchester Docks

WHEN 24,000 dockers came out on an unofficial one-day strike on Monday they showed the new Tory government what to expect from port workers.

And on Tuesday the official National Delegates Conference (TGWU) meeting in London drove the lesson home by giving notice of a national docks strike to begin on 14 July. Unless the employers make a peace bid by offering either concessions or serious negotiations which promise steps to the £20 a week basic being demanded, there will be a strike.

Monday's dress rehearsal shows the temper of the men. It was organised by the National Shop Stewards Committee in protest against the use of non-docks labour.

The committee has threatened more strikes unless dockers get satisfaction on this question.

The issue is: what is docks work? With the coming of containerisation, with more and more cargoes being shipped in huge metal containers, packed and unpacked away from the docks, the issue is a vital one.

Huge 'inland ports' are expected to spring up to load and unload the containers. Dockers say that the work involved in this is dockers' work. Naturally the employers want to employ cheaper, and, they hope, less militant, labour.

CORRIDOR

The Bristow Committee, set up to inquire into what is dockers' work in London, recommended a dockers' 'corridor' five miles either side of the Thames on ordinary traffic and 10 miles for containers.

This seems reasonable, but the new container bases could easily be moved outside the limit - and they would be because of saving in wages.

In fact no geographical definition of dockers' work offers any protection: only a straight guarantee that all packing and unpacking is dockers' work, at dockers' wages, would be sufficient.

But even the Bristow Report was too much for the employers, who protested at its recommendations. Barbara Castle ignored it. Robert Carr seems certain to follow her example.

Dockers, whose bread and butter is at stake, and who are faced with a drastic decline in traditional dockers' work, cannot afford to leave it at that. And Monday's strike strike was only the beginning.

Fake militants

DOCUMENTS being distributed by the 'Militant Trade Union Committee' which call for a general strike and revolution are fakes designed to discredit the Left. They should be ignored.

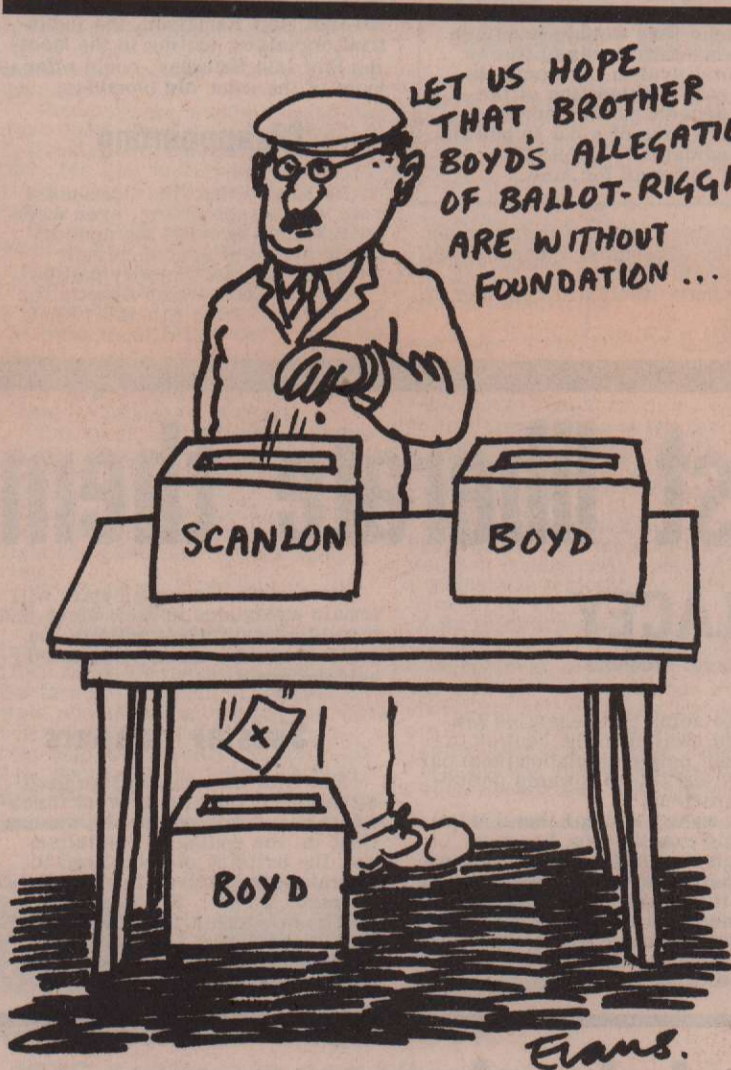
NOTICES

THIS SUNDAY: Which way for industry? IS industrial conference, Birmingham to discuss policy and strategy. Details from IS, 01-739 1878.

THE SPOKESMAN. Founded by Bertrand Russell. Summer issue now available. Includes Boramy & Caldwell on Cambodia; Murray & Wengraf on Communications; Rowbotham on Revolutionary Love; Ligito on Japan; Bodington on '11 Manifesto'; Townsend & Field on Poverty. News, reviews, illustrations. BRPF Publications, 45 Gamble St., Nottingham. 4/3d post free.

STOKE NEWINGTON IS: Public mtg on Imperialism, spkr Mike Kidron. Mon 29 June 8pm, Rose and Crown pub, cnr Stoke Newington Church St and Albion Rd.

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AEF poll - keep Boyd out

VOTING for the presidency of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers ends on Monday.

Any union members who have not yet voted should make a special effort to do so in this crucial contest. The two main candidates are Hugh Scanlon, the retiring president, and John Boyd.

It is essential that Boyd is soundly defeated. The new Tory government is likely to step up Labour's drive against the unions and militant policies throughout industry are the only way to fight such attacks.

Scanlon is the left-wing candidate in the election. Militant engineers have been critical of some of his policies but his defeat would be a major set-back for the union.

Boyd, who has conducted a gutter-level, witch-hunting campaign, stands for open collaboration with employers and government. The possibility of a united struggle against the Tories would be seriously weakened by his election.

A victory for Scanlon would give the left new encouragement to step up their fight.

VOTE FOR SCANLON - KEEP BOYD OUT!

Masked electricians discuss militant policy

SECRECY was the order of the day when 300 militant electricians from all over Britain gathered in London last weekend to discuss pay and conditions in the contracting industry.

Masked platform speakers advised their fellow unionists in the Electricians and Plumbers Union not to reveal their identity when speaking for fear of the inevitable reprisals from their right-wing executive.

The meeting called for an immediate national rate of £1 an hour to meet rising prices and rents, a 35-hour working week and four weeks' holiday.

The present working agreement promises a rate between 11s 11d and 14s 3d an hour by 1971. But the militants feel their £1 an hour is more than justified by increasing productivity and profits in the industry.

The meeting was critical of the

union executive's present policy of securing small wage increases based on productivity, for accepting disciplinary clauses and for allowing the growth of labour-only schemes in the industry, in spite of a rule banning the lump.

They also complained about the unequal distribution of fringe benefits and the redundancy which is increasing even though the joint

board for the industry boasts of grading more electricians every week.

The conference was organised by Flashlight, the rank and file national paper for electricians and plumbers. It followed the militant Glasgow demonstration last week which voiced similar demands.

It looks as though the complacent leadership of the union could be in for a bit of a shake-up.

NEXT WEEK
How to fight the Tories
-don't miss this statement